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RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN THE EDUCATIONAL ORIENTATIONS OF RURAL YOUTH.

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THIS PAPER PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOUTHWESTERN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION WAS CONCERNED WITH THE EVALUATION OF A CONCEPTUAL SCHEME DESIGNED TO STUDY SCHOOL ORIENTATION OF YOUTH AND PARTICULARLY RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN SCHOOL ORIENTATION OF RURAL YOUTH. HIGH SCHOOL SOPHOMORES RESIDING IN SELECTED LOW INCOME COUNTIES OF TEXAS WERE STUDIED. RURAL NEGRO YOUTH WERE FOUND TO BE MORE ORIENTED TOWARD ATTAINING HIGHER ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT THAN RURAL CAUCASIAN STUDENTS. BOTH NEGRO BOYS AND GIRLS HAD HIGHER EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS THAN CAUCASIAN BOYS AND GIRLS. MUCH LARGER PROPORTIONS OF THE NEGROES DESIRED AND EXPECTED TO DO GRADUATE WORK, WHILE LARGER PROPORTIONS OF THE CAUCASIANS DESIRED AND EXPECTED TO TERMINATE THEIR EDUCATION AFTER GRADUATING FROM HIGH SCHOOL. NEGRO YOUTH WERE MORE LIKELY TO EXPERIENCE DIVERGENCE BETWEEN THEIR ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS. INTENSITY OF ASPIRATION WAS STRONG AND CERTAINTY OF EXPECTATION RELATIVELY HIGH FOR BOTH NEGRO AND CAUCASIAN BOYS. IMPLICATIONS FROM THIS STUDY SUGGEST THAT NEGRO YOUTH ARE ATTEMPTING TO IMPROVE THEIR CONDITIONS BY ATTAINING A HIGHER ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT AND BETTER EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES NEED TO BE PROVIDED. THE PAPER CONCLUDES THAT THE CONCEPTUAL SCHEME USED IN THIS STUDY IS FRUITFUL FOR THE STUDY OF SCHOOL ORIENTATION OF YOUTH. (JS).

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RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN THE EDUCATIONAL ORIENTATIONS OF RURAL YOUTH*

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Abstract

The purposes of this paper were to evaluate the utility of a recently developed conceptual scheme for the multidimensional study of educational orientations of youth and to fill gaps in our knowledge about racial differences in educational orientations of rural youth. These objectives were pursued through analysis of data obtained from a recent study of high school sophomores residing in selected low-income counties of Texas. Rural Negro youth were found to be oriented toward attaining higher levels of education than rural white youth. Both Negro boys and girls had higher educational aspirations and expectations than white boys and girls. Much larger proportions of the Negroes desired and expected to do graduate work, while larger proportions of the whites desired and expected to terminate their education after graduating from high school. Negro youth were more likely to experience anticipatory deflection from their educational goals. Although most of the deflection was negative for all groupings, larger proportions of Negro boys and girls showed positive deflection. No meaningful differences were found concerning intensity of aspiration and certainty of expectation. Implications were drawn and suggestions offered for future research in this problem area.

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Introduction

Adolescence is a transitional period during which an individual prepares to assume adult responsibilities. Ideally, his family, peers, and schools assist him in making this transition. Schools are of particular importance in American society since formal education basically determines the nature of adult status that will be attained. The quality and quantity of education that a person receives is a significant factor in determining his future positions within a society, his contributions to society, his prestige and income rewards, and his self-satisfaction.[1]

Attaining a high level of quality education is a particularly acute problem for youth living in the rural South.[2] Currently, most of these youth seek employment in urban labor markets and their inferior education severely limits their opportunities for social mobility. The current interest in bringing about racial integration makes this an even more pressing problem because of the additional limitations that Negro youth face.

The Negro has been denied many opportunities to fully participate in society on an equal basis.[3] Consequently, Negroes have become increasingly dissatisfied with second-class citizenship in the predominantly affluent American way of life and now actively seek to improve their conditions.[4] Although the Negro is entitled to receive the same level and quality of education as other members of society, he encounters frequent opposition when he attempts to avail himself of this basic right. In addition, his opportunities are limited by a disadvantaged social and cultural atmosphere.[5] Thus, the Negro's attempts to achieve a better way of life are frequently frustrated.

Educational orientations are concerned with educational goals which one must attain if he is to realize other life goals. Personal adjustment problems frequently develop when a person fails to attain his goals in a competitive society which emphasizes achieved criteria for filling positions within it. As a result, the educational orientations of youth are of critical importance for study.

The major purpose of this paper is to evaluate the utility of a recently developed conceptual scheme for the multidimensional study of educational orientations of youth. In addition, it contributes to filling a gap in empirical knowledge regarding racial differences in educational orientations of rural youth. These objectives are pursued through analysis of data obtained from a recent Texas study.[6]

Conceptual Scheme

The adolescent formulates personal goals to project his future status in numerous social structures.[7] This idea provides the basis for the conceptual scheme utilized in this paper.[8]

Most existing literature regarding orientations of youth is concerned with the status objects of orientations. These objects vary in kind and in level.[9] Hence, an object of orientation can be viewed as existing at a particular level within a specified area--level of education, level of occupation, and level of income.

Two kinds of orientations toward status attainment exist--aspirations and expectations. Aspirations refer to statuses that are desired, while expectations are anticipated statuses which may or may not be desired.

Aspiration and expectation are not clearly differentiated in early empirical research of this general problem. Stephenson points out that "it is seldom clear in such research whether the stated choice represents an expectation or an aspiration; whether the individual is stating a plan based upon a realistic appraisal of his life chances or a more generally held aspiration for life goals in the stratification system."[10] It is essential to distinguish between aspiration and expectation since the object of an expectation may not be desired, and hence, not be a goal, while the object of an aspiration is always a goal.[11]

A particular person's aspirations and expectations in reference to a given object may be identical or they may diverge.[12] This potential divergence or lack of congruity between aspiration and expectation is labeled anticipatory deflection. We contend that this relational property is another analytically distinct and researchable dimension of orientations.[13]

The orientation element of aspirations and expectations is variable. The relative strength of desire for a specified goal is referred to as intensity of aspiration.[14] Strength of orientation toward an anticipated status is called certainty of expectation. This conceptual scheme is used as a guide for our review of the relevant literature.

Educational Orientations

One of the initial and most critical decisions a person confronts as he moves through adolescence toward future adult status is to determine the level and kind of education to obtain. Despite this critical

importance of education for life chances, various segments of society value education differently. In reference to place of residence differentials, Lipset suggests that small-town and rural youth generally have lower aspiration levels than urban youth.[15] Findings of a large number of studies support the generalization that educational aspirations of farm and rural-nonfarm youth are lower than those of urban youth, and that farm youth are less likely to plan on college than are nonfarm youth.[16]

Evaluation of Negro-white differences in educational orientations of rural youth has received scant attention by researchers. An even greater limitation is the fact that none of the few relevant studies compare the educational aspirations and expectations of rural youth simultaneously for Negroes and whites as well as males and females.

In a North Carolina study of boys, Drabick noted that more than 90 percent of the Negro boys and 80 percent of the white boys desired to attend college.[17] Considerably more than one-third of the Negro boys compared to almost one-third of the white boys expected to enter a four-year college in the fall following graduation. The study further indicated that a larger proportion of the Negro boys were likely to enroll in college.[18]

The only report directly examining educational "aspirations" of rural youth by race actually examines expectations, in the context of our conceptual scheme. Therefore, it is reviewed with one other study of educational expectations. In a Florida study, Middleton and Grigg found that proportionately more Negro boys and girls than white boys and

girls planned to attend college.[19] The differences between sexes for each race were slight and much less significant than the racial differences observed. In a more recent Florida study, larger percentages of Negro girls than white girls planned to attend college, but the opposite was true for boys.[20] Negro boys were least likely to plan further education after leaving high school and Negro girls were most likely to do so.

The findings of previous research concerning racial differences in educational orientations of rural youth are far from conclusive. Negro boys in one study have higher educational aspirations and expectations, as well as greater certainty of attaining their expectations, than white boys. That Negro boys have higher educational expectations than white boys is confirmed in another study. This relationship is also found for Negro and white girls in the same study, as well as in another one. However, Negro boys in the latter study are found to have lower educational expectations than white boys.

The principal research objective of our analysis is to determine to what extent educational orientations of rural youth, boys and girls, differ by race. The following questions served to guide the analysis:

1. Do educational aspirations and expectations of Negro youth differ from those of white youth?

2. Is anticipatory deflection more likely to be experienced by Negro than white youth?

3. Are there differences in intensity of educational aspirations and certainty of educational expectations between Negro and white youth?

Source and Collection of Data

Data for this research were obtained from a population of youth in three rural East Central Texas counties not contiguous to a metropolitan area. These counties had disproportionately high numbers of Negroes and low-income families as compared with Texas and the United States. A detailed comparison of these and several other indicators of socio-economic conditions in the counties is presented in Appendix A.

The nature of the schools in these three counties is an additional characteristic that needs to be considered.[21] In general, they deviate a great deal from the standard considered necessary to provide the kind of education that youth today need.[22] Only one of the schools has experienced more than "token" integration, while the others remain essentially "segregated."

The 530 students who were enrolled as sophomores during the 1965-66 school year were selected as the subjects of this research.[23] Data were collected by means of group interviews in the schools during April and May 1966.[24]

Indicators and Measurements

Several questions are used to serve as indicators of the various dimensions of educational orientations. These are excerpted and presented in Appendix B.

Conceptually, educational aspiration is the level of education one desires if he is completely free to choose. Operationally, it was measured according to a forced-choice, seven-category educational level scale.[25]

Educational expectation is the level of education one really expect to attain. Operationally, it was measured according to the same educational level scale noted above for aspirations. Anticipatory deflection is the divergence or lack of congruity between educational aspiration and educational expectation. Operationally, it was determined by comparing the measures of educational aspiration and educational expectation.[26]

Intensity of educational aspiration is the relative strength of one's educational aspiration. Operationally, it was measured by numerically ranking the desire for attainment of the educational goal relative to other goals according to a modified version of a scale originally reported by Reissman.[27] Certainty of educational expectation is the relative certainty of achieving one's educational expectation. Operationally, it was measured with a Likert-type scale with five alternatives representing various degrees of certainty.[28]

Findings

The findings concerning racial differences in educational orientations of rural youth are presented separately for each sex. Since this comparison is the primary focus of the paper, the most relevant sex-linked differences are summarized only briefly.

Boys. Although large majorities of both Negro and white boys had high levels of educational aspiration, some significant differences between them were noted, Table 1. Proportionately more Negroes wanted to complete graduate study, while a larger percentage of whites wanted to terminate their education upon graduation from a college or university. In addition, more white boys desired to terminate their education with high school graduation.

Table 1. Educational Aspirations of Negro and White Boys

Educational Level	Negro N=96	White N=143	Total N=239
	- - - - - percent - - - - -		
Quit high school	5	4	5
Graduate from high school	1	10	6
Graduate from high sch. & take voc. trng.	23	18	20
Graduate from junior college	7	9	8
Graduate from a college or university	25	42	35
Complete graduate study	39	17	26
TOTAL	100	100	100

$x^2 = 23.37$ d.f. = 5 $p < .001$

Table 2. Educational Expectations of Negro and White Boys

Educational Level	Negro N=96	White N=143	Total N=239
	- - - - - percent - - - - -		
Quit high school	6	4	5
Graduate from high school	1	16	10
Graduate from high sch. & take voc. trng.	23	24	24
Graduate from junior college	7	7	7
Graduate from college or university	41	42	41
Complete graduate study	22	7	13
TOTAL	100	100	100

$x^2 = 23.78$ d.f. = 5 $p < .001$

Table 3. Anticipatory Deflection from Educational Goals of Negro and White Boys

Nature of Deflection	Negro N=96	White N=143	Total N=239
	- - - - - percent - - - - -		
None	65	73	70
Positive	11	4	7
Negative	24	23	23
TOTAL	100	100	100

$x^2 = 4.83$ d.f. = 2 $p > .05 < .10$

The findings for educational expectation indicate differences of the same general nature as were observed for goals, Table 2. One observation worthy of noting specifically is that an even greater ratio of Negroes than whites expected to complete graduate study.

Both groupings experienced substantial anticipatory deflection--35 percent of the Negroes and 27 percent of the whites, Table 3. Negro boys were more likely to experience anticipatory deflection, which is largely accounted for by a higher rate of positive deflection. Despite these differences, anticipatory deflection was predominantly negative for both groupings.

Intensity of aspiration was strong and certainty of expectation relatively high for both Negro and white boys, Tables 4 and 5. Racial differences for both of these orientation elements were too slight to be meaningful.

Girls. The educational aspiration profiles of Negro and white girls were more alike than different, Table 6. Almost one-half of each grouping wanted to take vocational training after graduating from high school. The major racial differences was that a much larger proportion of Negro girls than white girls desired to complete graduate study.

Although the educational expectations of Negro and white girls were similar to their aspirations, differences were more pronounced than for goals, Table 7. A larger proportion of Negro girls than white girls planned to complete graduate study and significantly more white girls anticipated terminating their education with high school graduation or vocational training after high school graduation.

Table 4. Intensity of Educational Aspiration of Negro and White Boys

Intensity	Negro N=96	White N=143	Total N=239
	- - - - - percent - - - - -		
Strong	79	69	73
Intermediate	16	20	18
Weak	4	11	8
TOTAL	99	100	99
No Response	1		1

$x^2 = 4.65$ d.f. = 2 $p > .05 < .10$

Table 5. Certainty of Educational Expectation of Negro and White Boys

Certainty	Negro N=96	White N=143	Total N=239
	- - - - - percent - - - - -		
Very sure	19	16	17
Sure	45	46	45
Not very sure	31	32	32
Not sure	5	6	6
TOTAL	100	100	100

$x^2 = .38$ d.f. = 3 $p > .90 < .95$

Table 6. Educational Aspirations of Negro and White Girls

Educational Level	Negro N=99	White N=131	Total N=230
	- - - - - percent - - - - -		
Quit high school	1	1	1
Graduate from high school	2	6	4
Graduate from high sch. & take voc. trng.	46	46	46
Graduate from junior college	3	9	7
Graduate from college or university	22	24	23
Complete graduate study	26	14	19
TOTAL	100	100	100

$x^2 = 10.19$ d.f. = 5 $p > .05 < .10$

Table 7. Educational Expectations of Negro and White Girls

Educational Level	Negro N=99	White N=131	Total N=230
	- - - - - percent - - - - -		
Quit high school	5	1	3
Graduate from high school	4	12	9
Graduate from high sch. & take voc. trng.	43	50	47
Graduate from junior college	2	8	5
Graduate from college or university	20	21	20
Complete graduate study	26	8	16
TOTAL	100	100	100

$x^2 = 25.63$ d.f. = 5 $p < .001$

Table 8. Anticipatory Deflection from Educational Goals of Negro and White Girls

Nature of Deflection	Negro N=99	White N=131	Total N=230
	- - - - - percent - - - - -		
None	58	77	69
Positive	17	1	8
Negative	25	22	23
TOTAL	100	100	100

$x^2 = 22.75$ d.f. = 2 $p < .001$

Substantial proportions of both groupings experienced anticipatory deflection from their educational goals--42 percent of the Negroes and 23 percent of the whites. Most of the deflection for both groupings tended to be negative, but a significant racial difference was observed, Table 8. Negro girls were much more likely to experience anticipatory deflection and a markedly larger proportion of Negroes were positively deflection--only one white girls was positively deflected as compared with 17 percent of the Negroes.

Intensity of aspiration was generally strong and certainty of expectation relatively high for both Negro and white girls, Tables 9 and 10. Again, racial differences were slight and not worthy of note.

Boys and Girls Compared. The educational aspirations and expectations of the Negro and white boys were generally higher than the girls, Tables 1 and 6 and Tables 2 and 7. Racial differences in rates of anticipatory deflection were more pronounced for girls than for boys, Tables 3 and 8. Negro girls experienced the most anticipatory deflection while white girls experienced the least.

Summary. Both Negro boys and girls had higher educational aspirations and expectations than white boys and girls. Much larger proportions of the Negroes desired and expected to do graduate work, while larger proportions of the whites desired and expected to terminate their education after graduating from high school. Negro youth were more likely to experience anticipatory deflection from their educational goals. Although most of the deflection was negative for all groupings,

Table 9. Intensity of Educational Aspiration of Negro and White Girls

Intensity	Negro N=99	White N=131	Total N=230
	- - - - - percent - - - - -		
Strong	78	81	80
Intermediate	14	13	13
Weak	6	6	6
TOTAL	98	100	99
No Response	2		1

$x^2 = .11$ d.f. = 2 $p > .90 < .95$

Table 10. Certainty of Educational Expectation of Negro and White Girls

Certainty	Negro N=99	White N=131	Total N=230
	- - - - - percent - - - - -		
Very sure	22	30	26
Sure	45	33	38
Not very sure	29	36	33
Not sure	3	1	2
TOTAL	99	100	99
No Response	1		1

$x^2 = 5.34$ d.f. = 3 $p > .10 < .20$

larger proportions of Negro boys and girls showed positive deflection. No meaningful differences were found concerning intensity of aspiration and certainty of expectation.

Conclusions and Implications

In general, we conclude that the conceptual scheme is fruitful for the study of educational orientations of youth. Measurements were obtained for each of the five dimensions of orientations and these data were analyzed. Significant racial differences were found for aspirations, expectations, and anticipatory deflection. Although racial differences for intensity of aspiration and certainty of expectation were not meaningful, our instruments revealed that the respondents strongly desired their educational goal and were fairly certain of attaining it.

The fact that Negro boys and girls generally have higher educational aspirations and expectations than white youth is confirmed by our data.[29] This conclusion suggests that attainment of higher levels of education is one of the ways in which the Negro is currently attempting to improve his conditions.[30] Educational attainment can facilitate additional amelioration by providing access to better occupational and income opportunities. However, despite such advancements, discrimination in other areas such as housing and social acceptance will not necessarily be overcome.[31] These may result in even greater discontent and frustration for the Negro.

Since this is the first known report of research involving anticipatory deflection from educational goals of Negro and white rural youth, no other studies are available with which to compare the findings. Our

finding concerning positive anticipatory deflection among Negroes is undoubtedly the most intriguing one of the entire study. Negroes may realize that higher levels of education are essential for the attainment of more desirable occupational opportunities so they feel compelled to strive for higher levels of education than they really desire. More likely, they realize that they can gain prestige more easily through educational attainment than in some other ways. At any rate, it is an area which needs to be investigated more thoroughly to validate this finding.

Despite the lack of meaningful racial differences for intensity of aspiration and certainty of expectation, these two dimensions of orientations need to be investigated further. The particular instruments that were utilized in our study may not be valid indicators of intensity and certainty. Better measurements may reveal that intensity and certainty are associated with the occurrence of anticipatory deflection from educational goals. When considered in conjunction with their objects, intensity and certainty may serve as better predictors of educational attainment than the objects alone.

Our findings obviously have implications for educational planning. If large numbers of rural youth who reside in low-income areas, especially Negroes, want and expect to attain higher levels of education, commensurate educational facilities need to be provided. Otherwise, the opportunities of these youth to fully participate in society will continue to be impeded because of their disadvantaged educational status.

If they can attain a high level of good education, they will be able to improve their status within society and make greater contributions, thus realizing greater prestige and income rewards as well as self-satisfaction.

There is an urgent need for additional research on educational orientations of rural youth for both pragmatic and scientific reasons. This research is essential for a better understanding of educational needs as a basis for action and policy making as well as to guide and direct future research.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Burton R. Clark, "Sociology of Education," in Robert E. L. Faris (ed.), Handbook of Modern Sociology, Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1964, pp. 734-49.

[2] Lewis W. Jones, "The Outlook for Low-Income Youth in Rural Areas," in Ruth C. Nash (ed.), Rural Youth in a Changing Environment, Washington, D. C.: National Committee for Children and Youth, 1965, pp. 115-17.

[3] Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944, pp. 1021-24.

[4] Leonard Broom and Norval D. Glenn, Transformation of the Negro American, New York: Harper & Row, 1965, pp. 182-83.

[5] Frank Riessman, The Culturally Deprived Child, New York: Harper & Row, 1962, pp. 10-15.

[6] The development of this paper was supported by the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station as a contribution to project H-2611, "Human Resource Development and Mobility in the Rural South," which is contributing to a Southern Regional Project.

[7] Ralph H. Turner, The Social Context of Ambition, San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1964, pp. 16 and 212.

[8] For a more detailed consideration of this framework, see William P. Kuvlesky and Robert C. Bealer, "A Clarification of the Concept 'Occupational Choice,'" Rural Sociology, 31 (September, 1966), pp. 265-76; and William P. Kuvlesky and John Pelham, Occupational Status Orientations of Rural Youth: Structured Annotations and Evaluations of the Research Literature, College Station: Texas A&M University, Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, Technical Report No. 66-3, September, 1966, pp. 6-9.

[9] Kuvlesky and Bealer, op. cit., p. 270.

[10] Richard M. Stephenson, "Mobility Orientation and Stratification of 1,000 Ninth Graders," American Sociological Review, 22 (April, 1957), p. 205.

[11] Since the object of an expectation is anticipated and may or may not be a goal, further conceptual clarification is in order. However, elaboration of this point is beyond the scope of this paper and it is suggested as a conceptual problem requiring clarification.

[12]This divergence may vary in both nature and extent. That is, aspiration and expectation for a specified object may differ both qualitatively and quantitatively.

[13]William P. Kuvlesky and George W. Ohlendorf, "Occupational Status Orientations of Negro Boys: A Rural-Urban Comparison." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, Miami Beach, Florida, August, 1966.

[14]Kuvlesky and Bealer, op. cit., pp. 271-72.

[15]Seymour M. Lipset, "Social Mobility and Urbanization," Rural Sociology, 20 (September-December, 1965), pp. 226-27.

[16]A current inclusive listing of these studies is contained in George W. Ohlendorf and William P. Kuvlesky, A Bibliography of Literature on Status Aspirations and Expectations: Educational, Residence, Income, and Family Orientations, College Station: Texas A&M University, Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, Information Report No. 66-7, September, 1966, pp. 3-22. Most of this research is reviewed in the following: Lee G. Burchinal, Career Choices of Rural Youth in a Changing Society, (North Central Regional Publication No. 142), St. Paul: Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 458, November, 1962; William H. Sewell and Archibald O. Haller, "Educational and Occupational Perspectives of Farm and Rural Youth," in Lee G. Burchinal (ed.), Rural Youth in Crisis: Facts, Myths, and Social Change, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1965, pp. 149-69; Glen H. Elder, Jr., "Achievement Orientations and Career Patterns of Rural Youth," Sociology of Education, 37 (Fall, 1963), pp. 30-58; and Slocum, op. cit., pp. 186-225.

[17]Lawrence W. Drabick, The Vocational Agriculture Student and His Peers, Raleigh: North Carolina State University, Departments of Agricultural Education and Rural Sociology, Educational Research Series No. 1, August, 1963. (Mimeographed). The occupational and educational plans (desires and expectations) are the subject of this study and vocational agriculture students are compared to other students separately for Negro and white males. Comparisons by race are made by combining some of the categories of data from each part of the report.

[18]The probability of enrolling in college is checked by asking the respondents to name the college which they plan to attend. Slightly more than one-third of the Negro boys are able to do this compared to less than one-fourth of the white boys.

[19]Russell Middleton and Charles M. Grigg, "Rural-Urban Differences in Aspirations," Rural Sociology, 24 (December, 1959), pp. 347-54. Although educational aspirations are reported in the paper, the indicator for aspirations elicits educational expectations within the context of this study, since the subjects are asked if they are planning to attend college the following year.

[20]E. Grant Youmans, et. al., After High School What? Highlights of a Study of Career Plans of Negro and White Youth in Three Florida Counties, Gainesville: University of Florida, Cooperative Extension Service, (1965).

[21]Twenty-three high schools are located in the counties and the number of students enrolled in each one varies from 25 to 300. These enrollment figures were obtained from principals of the schools at the time the data were collected.

[22]James B. Conant, The American High School Today, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1959, pp. 77-85.

[23]Sophomores were selected because at this age students have chosen a high school curriculum and a majority of the potential dropouts are still in school. Of the 530 sophomores enrolled in these schools, 487 were interviewed. All those who were present on the day the interview was scheduled participated, but no attempt was made to contact any who were absent. Three questionnaires were incomplete and were not used. The 484 usable ones were obtained from 98 Negro males, 153 white males, 99 Negro females, and 134 white females. Since the major comparison to be made in this paper is concerned with Negro-white differences, eight male and three female American Indians are not included in the analysis. Four males--two Negro and two white--are also excluded because they did not indicate their educational aspiration or expectation. Therefore, the responses of 96 Negro males, 143 white males, 99 Negro females, and 131 white females are analyzed in this paper.

[24]Questionnaires were distributed to the students who completed them as the questions were read by the interviewer. Administration of the instrument usually required between 45 and 60 minutes.

[25]This method of measurement was selected so that detailed socially significant categories would be discerned. The specific categores can be combined in various ways to compare the findings with those of other studies, as well as to analyze the data in more general ways. For analysis, the two lowest levels are combined into one because of the low number of frequencies for each of the original ones.

[26]If these measures are incongruent, anticipatory deflection is considered to exist. The relationship between the two measures defines the nature of the deflection. If expectation is larger than aspiration, the deflection is positive. If expectation is smaller than aspiration, the deflection is negative.

[27]Leonard Reissman, "Levels of Aspiration and Social Class," American Sociological Review, 18 (June, 1963), pp. 233-42. This is a multiple item scale for which the respondent indicates whether or not he would be willing to sacrifice some other valued end to obtain the goal under consideration. Demonstrations of the scale's utility are contained in Russell R. Dynes, et. al., "Levels of Occupational Aspiration: Some Aspects of

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[26]If these measures are incongruent, anticipatory deflection is considered to exist. The relationship between the two measures defines the nature of the deflection. If expectation is larger than aspiration, the deflection is positive. If expectation is smaller than aspiration, the deflection is negative.

[27]Leonard Reissman, "Levels of Aspiration and Social Class," American Sociological Review, 18 (June, 1963), pp. 233-42. This is a multiple item scale for which the respondent indicates whether or not he would be willing to sacrifice some other valued end to obtain the goal under consideration. Demonstrations of the scale's utility are contained in Russell R. Dynes, et. al., "Levels of Occupational Aspiration: Some Aspects of

Family Experience As a Variable," American Sociological Review, 21 (April, 1956), pp. 212-15; and Frederick C. Fliegel, "Aspirations of Low-Income Farmers and Their Performance and Potential for Change," Rural Sociology, 24 (September, 1959), pp. 205-14. Since this type of scale did not satisfy the needs of the larger study from which these data are taken, a modified version of the scale was constructed. The instrument is composed of seven goals and is accompanied by a question that asks the respondent to numerically rank the attainment of these goals in their order of importance to him. The possible range of scores is 1 to 7--the lower the score, the stronger the intensity of aspiration for that goal. The scores are grouped as follows: Strong (1-2), Intermediate (3-5), and Weak (6-7).

[28]These are very sure, sure, not very sure, uncertain, and very uncertain. For analysis, the uncertain and very uncertain responses are combined as not sure because of the low number of frequencies for each of the original ones.

[29]It is possible that the data on which our findings are based were influenced by the interview situation. The fact that the interviewers were introduced as graduate students from Texas A&M University may have biased the responses concerning educational orientations. However, the same general procedures were followed in all of the interviews.

[30]Broom and Glenn, op. cit., pp. 186-87.

[31]Ibid., pp. 187-89.

APPENDIX A

Table 1. A Comparison of the Study Counties with Texas and the United States on Selected Indicators of Socio-Economic Conditions

Place	Total Population (Thousands)	Negroes (Percent)	Low-Income Families[a] (Percent)	Median Family Income	Median School Years Completed[b]	Unskilled Labor Force[c] (Percent)
Burleson	11	31	59	$2,451	8	43
Leon	10	38	67	1,946	9	44
San Jacinto	6	52	69	1,737	7	54
Texas	9,580	13	29	4,884	10	36
United States	179,323	11	21	5,660	11	36

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Volume 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 1, United States Summary, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1964, Tables 42,76,87, and 95; and U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Volume 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 45, Texas, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1963, Tables 14,28,47,57,66,84,86, and 87.

[a]Annual incomes below $3,000.

[b]25 years old and older.

[c]Operatives, service workers, and laborers.

APPENDIX B

Excerpts from Research Instrument

* * * * *

18. Listed below are a number of things that most young people look forward to. Rank them in order of their importance to you. For the one you think is most important check number 1 in front of it; for the next most important one check number 2, and so on until you have a number checked for each one. Read over the entire list before answering the question. (Check only one number beside each sentence and check each different number only once.)

Order of Importance to You

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Having lots of free time to do what I want.
___	___	___	___	___	___	___	To develop my mind and get all the education I want.
___	___	___	___	___	___	___	To earn as much money as I can.
___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Getting the job I want most.
___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Living in the kind of place I like best.
___	___	___	___	___	___	___	Having the kind of house, car, furniture, and other things like this I want.
___	___	___	___	___	___	___	To get married and raise a family.

CHECK YOUR ANSWERS! You should have each number checked only once and a single number should be checked for each statement.

* * * * *

25. If you could have as much education as you <u>desired</u> and were completely free to choose, which of the following would you do? (Circle only one number.)

1 Quit high school and never go to school again.
2 Quit high school and take some vocational training for a job.
3 Graduate from high school and never go to school again.
4 Graduate from high school and then complete a business, commercial, nurses training, or some other technical school program.
5 Graduate from a junior college.
6 Graduate from a college or university.
7 Complete additional studies after graduating from a college or university.

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* * * * *

31. What do you <u>really expect</u> to do about your education? (Circle one number.)

1 Quit high school and never go to school again.
2 Quit high school and take some vocational training for a job.
3 Graduate from high school and never go to school again.
4 Graduate from high school and then complete a business, commercial, nurses training, or some other technical school program.
5 Graduate from a junior college.
6 Graduate from a college or university.
7 Complete additional studies after graduating from a college or university.

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* * * * *

32. How sure are you that you will really achieve the education you expect?

I am: (Circle one number.)

1	2	3	4	5
Very sure	Sure	Not very sure	Uncertain	Very uncertain